1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

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both at the village and *ti* dairies has probably some significance, and, taken in conjunction with the undoubted salutation of the sun, it points to some degree of worship of light and its sources which may at one time have formed a more marked feature of the Toda religion than seems at present to be the case.

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The prayer when shutting up the buffaloes for the night is common to both *ti* and village dairies. The night is the dangerous time for Toda buffaloes, which are not infrequently killed by tigers, and the prayer on the occasion of closing the pen is probably designed to promote their safety.

At the prayer uttered at the close of the milking at the *ti* dairy the *palol* adopts a special attitude which is shown in Fig. 28. He prays leaning on his wand, the *pohvet*, with his hands crossed over one another. This attitude is not employed in the village dairy, and only on this occasion at the *ti* dairy.

● [195]

In all cases the prayer is uttered "in the throat," so that the words cannot be distinguished by any one who may hear them. Whenever I listened to the recital of a prayer as it was being offered by a dairyman within the dairy, I heard only a gurgling noise in which no words could be distinguished. On one occasion I was allowed to approach the *ti* dairy at Mòdr while the first prayer was being offered by the *palol*. I heard the beating on the *persin* (see p. 92) which accompanies this prayer, and at intervals in the monotonous sound produced by the voice of the *palol* there were pauses. As we shall see, the prayer of the *ti* has certain sections which are distinguished from one another, and it seemed possible that these pauses marked off the different portions of the prayer, but it was clear that this was not the case, the *palol* only stopping when the necessity for taking a new breath became imperative.

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Each village has its own prayer, and so far as I could ascertain this prayer is used in all the dairies of the village; thus I believe that at Taradr the same prayer would be used in both *kugvali* and *tarvali*. This is not, however, a point on which I can speak positively, for there was much reluctance to talk about this subject and many of the Todas absolutely

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

both into a vessel. An incantation is said, the same as, or similar to, that already given, while the *utkòren* strokes the sick man with the corner of his cloak. After the incantation the sufferer drinks the juice. 755

Various Magical Remedies

The *utkòren* also practise various other methods of treatment. 755 825

Headache. This is called *madersnûdr*, "if head aches." For this the *utpol* places his hand on the head of the sufferer, and says the following incantation in a low voice, so that the patient may not distinguish what is being said.[1] After the names of the four gods, as in previous formulæ, it runs :— [195]

mûkkerre	*mad*	*tatki*	*han*	*tath md ;*	*ker*	*mad tathi*
cobra	head	broken into pieces		not break may ;	a snake	&c.

han tath md ;

and the same formula is repeated, substituting first the names of other kinds of snake and then of other animals. The following are the animals mentioned: *kûrûpatz*, a black poisonous snake ; *putpob*, a variegated snake, which is called the foolish snake, because it will not get out of the way ; *taverûni*, a green snake ; *pâlipob*, another green snake ; *uitch*, a kind of lizard reputed to suck blood ; *antli*, a squirrel ; *kapan*, a frog ; *tugûli*, a crayfish (?) ; *kadrmad*, a water animal of some kind ; *mîn*, a fish ; *tgal*, an earthworm ; *nelnpûf*, an insect found under stones ; *dpipûf*, an insect found in buffalo dung. After all these animals have been mentioned with the same formula, the names of Pithioteu and Ön are again uttered, followed by the words *tathkhma*. The *utpol* flicks the corner of his cloak first against the ground, and then against the forehead of the sufferer, and then, if the man is sitting, he says, "*ateuk ir*," "sit there off!" and the man moves a little way from the place where he had been sitting. If the man is unable to sit, and is lying down, the words will be "*ateuk padr*," "lie there off!" or "lie a little way off!"

[1] I think it is probable that all the incantations are said in this manner, but I only had it specifically mentioned in this case.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

524 539

Purkárpúdr *odutpolotki?* *Kúdi* *kágiti.*
Calls out if why that says no? Cock crows.

What is it that calls out and no one replies? The cock.

Nelu *tiri* *kai,* *pon* *tiri* *pâv?* *Elu.*
Earth goes round fruit, sky goes round flower? The tip-cat game.

Muddl *pîr* *vatvai,* *pin* *marsvati;* *pin* *pîr*
First pregnant who becomes, later is delivered; later pregnant

vatvai, *mudll* *marsvati?* *Tâni,* *kodj.*
who becomes, first is delivered? A grain, barley.

Tani or *samai* (*patm*) is the grain from which *patcherski*, one of the chief Toda foods, is made. It shows above the ground later than barley, but is reaped earlier.

524 I did not hear of any mechanical puzzles or tricks used by the Todas, and it was quite clear that they had no knowledge of cat's-cradle.

Poetry and Music

533 538 I have given two samples of Toda poetry in the chapter on funeral ceremonies. These are the chief occasions on which songs are composed, but they are also made when a new dairy is being built, and may be composed and sung on any festive occasion. The general name for compositions of this kind is *kunedsti*, and certain men have special reputations as composers. The most noted of recent times was a man named Mervoin belonging to the family of Kiugi.

Of those now living, Teitnir, whose two funeral songs I have given, is a noted composer, and I was told of six other men who were especially gifted in this way.

Though I have called these compositions songs, they should, perhaps, rather be called recitations. They are [195] certainly not songs with any musical accompaniment. I understood, though I am not clear about this, that the clauses, or *kwarzam*, of the funeral poems are said in a low voice "in the throat," so that they are not understood by the people who hear them. If this is correct, the funeral *kwarzam* resemble in this respect those of which the prayers consist.

538 The Toda poets also compose songs on any festive

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

192 198 different forms of the verb 'to milk' are used. "We have milked" at the village would be "*irkartkudrvistpimi*," often shortened into *irkartstpimi*, while at the *ti* "*karvukkudrvistpimi*" would be said; "we have not milked" would be "*irkarami*" at the village and "*irkarpûkkami*" at the *ti*.

There are certain verbs used at the *ti* dairy which may only be pronounced by ordinary people in the third person. A good example is the verb *nört*, and it will be noticed that the names of ceremonies in which this verb is used have always been given in the third person, *irnörtiti*, and never in the first person plural as in the case of most other ceremonies.

About the third kind of sacred language, I know very little. It will have been noticed that the words and sentences which are used in the legends of Chapter IX are unlike those which occur elsewhere, and I was especially told that certain words only occurred in the stories of the gods. A special instance given was that of the words "*tar tûrzhodthrska*" (see p. 201), where *tar*[1] was said to be the *tey* word for 'man.' The words *kwudrpedrshai* and *kaipedrshai* in the same legend were given as other examples of *tey* language.

Secret Language

177 198 195 The Todas have a large number of expressions which they use in the presence of Badagas, Tamils and others when they wish to be understood only by themselves. Many of the Badagas and Tamils with whom the Todas associate no doubt pick up some knowledge of their language, and even if this were not the case, the Toda language is sufficiently like Tamil to enable a stranger to understand part of what is said. In consequence the Todas have adopted a secret code for use among themselves which they call *kalikatpimi*, literally "stolen we tie," while in distinction the ordinary language is called *itherkelv* or "front fact."

[1] The last syllable of the name Meilitars given to Kwoto is probably this word, so that the name means 'superior man.'

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The following are the chief instances of which I was told. 195 198

Ordinary Language.	Secret Language.
Pkrshk ufr ai kwadr! Milk to water mix give. *i.e.*, give milk mixed with water.	*Nauk udr pudwaink* Four sides which came from *kagfr pkrt ai kwadr!* old buffalo milk mix give! *i.e.*, give milk mixed with what comes from the four teats of an old buffalo.
Pkrt kdr milk cook *i.e.*, cook food in milk!	*Nauk udr pud uddo kwrk* Four sides come three on up *ikhk!* put *i.e.*, Put what comes from the four teats upon the three (stones of the oven).
Tkr tidkkia! Have you taken food?	*K'kb nkvth kwrkka?* Teeth between did you throw?
At wokk! There (or away) go!	*At ord ay!* There (or away) two (legs) go!
Irau akuik ud! The buffalo in the wood hide!	*kkdr vakpai kwr kkkr k!* Horn crooked wood into go!
K'au adkki? Is he not blind?	*K'kdrau pau adkkinâ* Black fruit has he not?

When a man is thought to be dying, the Todas may ask "Is this man going from one place to another?"

Whenever a Toda first sees a man, he looks at his feet, and, correspondingly, when a Toda asks another his opinion of a man, he says "*Kal pel ilkdinâ*, "What sort of leg and nail has he?" In secret language the leg may be called *metipol*, "walk thing," also used for footprints or *pkmi kldr pk pol*, "thing that goes into the earth."

Many other things and persons have secret names; thus, a rupee, or money generally, is called *atchertvai*, that which is stamped; butter is called *pelthpol* or white thing; clarified butter (*nei*) is called *kdrtpol* or melted thing; sugar and honey are called *tichedpol* or sweet thing; rice is called *peitpudvai*, that which comes from Peit, a place near Kavidi in the Wainad from which rice used to be procured; arrack (*saraim*) is called *krthpol* or *pkshetpol*, each meaning "drink thing." The sun is called *ethdol*, "great man."

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

101 The various tribes on the hills have secret names; thus,
551 both Badagas and Tamils are called *tutâr katvai*, he who wears or ties the turban; a Kota is called *kîmas ithvai*, he who is beneath; a Kurumba is called *âr kârthpol*, the man who watches the way; a European is called *pelthpol*, or white man. A forest guard is called *petuni ütvai*, *petuni* being here used as a term for uniform, so that if a forest guard has come, they will say, *petuni ütvai podvuchi*.

195 Several of the words used in the secret language do not
198 appear to have any other meaning and are not ordinarily used. Thus the ordinary word for tooth is *pars*, but in secret language *kâtô* or *kâtû* is used. This word is the name of the wall of a buffalo-pen and it is possible that it may mean stones, but I could not ascertain whether this was the derivation, and could only learn that it was another word for tooth. Similarly the ear, of which the ordinary name is *kevi*, is called *pertars*; and the question "Did you wear gold earrings?" becomes *pertarsk ütshia*? "to ear did you wear?"

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER IV.

CHARACTERISTICS.

Talking Voices—Modes of Salutation—Home Life—Frank and obliging Natures—Colour of the Skin—Tattoo Marks—Ornaments—Boys distinguished from Girls—Apparel—Toilette.

THE Toda talking voice is peculiar; particularly so that of the women. Whilst on the part of the men it is strikingly grave and sedate, spoken almost *sotto voce*: the women's voice, on the contrary, is rather high, appearing to come altogether from the region at the back of the ear—the 'mastoid process.' In both sexes, but particularly with the female, the sound of the voice is somewhat musical and refined, though fatiguing to listen to from its monotonous tone. Indeed, it is somewhat astonishing that some harsh syllables of their language should come so softly from such mouths. The refinement arises doubtless, from the gentleness of their dispositions—void of asperity; its friendliness, accompanied by desire to please. Not from any innate sense of tune, for they have no more ear for music than so many crows.

Their amiability shows itself also in their observance of courteous customs. The salaam of the East, performed amongst the Todas by raising the thumb-edge of the right hand vertically to the nose and forehead, is a respectful form of address; used in addressing superiors, and on approach to sacred places, and other like occasions. When asked by what name they styled that form of salute, they replied: 'Itvâ eshken, swâmi eshken,' or, 'I say, come! I say, Lord!'

That mode of salutation which is most employed amongst